

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

VOLUME XI, NUMBER 4
WINTER, 1953

EDITED BY J. MAX PATRICK

MILTON SOCIETY SUPPLEMENT

THE MILTON SOCIETY OF AMERICA

SIXTH ANNUAL

MILTON EVENING

IN HONOR OF

HELEN DARBISHIRE

M. A., Oxon.

Hon. D. Litt.,

Fellow of the British Academy.

DONALD LEMEN CLARK

A. M., Columbia.

Ph. D., Columbia.

Hon. Litt. D., DePauw.

Chicago, December, 1953

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWS

THE MILTON SOCIETY OF AMERICA

NEW YORK, N. Y.

1917

THE MILTON SOCIETY OF AMERICA

SIXTH ANNUAL

MILTON EVENING

IN HONOR OF

JOHN MILTON

1608-1674

1608-1674

1608-1674

1608-1674

Wa
Sve

WI
A
to
Oxi
AB
In
pro
bish
(T)

FR

sch
to

J.

the
ma

DO

and
is
for
att

R.

for
als
ow
cha
and
stu
ton

J.
bis
to
ind
Po
gro
pa
Ex
vol
cit
bis
tha

MILTON SOCIETY OF AMERICA

COMMITTEE, 1953

James Holly Hanford, President
Don M. Wolfe, Secretary

Walter Bowman, J. Milton French, Donald C. Dorian, Kester Svendsen, F. Michael Krouse, Ernest Sirluck, J. Max Patrick

HONORED SCHOLARS

James Holly Hanford, 1948
William Haller, 1949

Charles G. Osgood, 1950
Raymond P. Havens and Sir Herbert Grierson, 1951
Allan H. Gilbert and Eustace M. W. Tillyard, 1952
Donald Lemen Clark and Helen Darbishire, 1953

TRIBUTE TO HELEN DARBISHIRE AND
DONALD LEMEN CLARK

WILLIAM HALLER, Folger Shakespeare Library:

As a former Milton editor to a much greater one, I am happy to do honor to Miss Darbishire on the final accomplishment of the Oxford *Milton*.

ABBIE FINDLAY POTTS, Rockford College:

In these days when the labor of individual scholars is the surest protection of mankind, we may well quote in tribute to Helen Darbishire what Wordsworth says of all willing hearts in great causes (*The Prelude* X. 154-156):

I revolved,
How much the destiny of Man had still
Hung upon single persons.

FRENCH FOGLE, Henry E. Huntington Library:

Miss Darbishire's devotion to the text and her unceasing scholarly care have brought us as close as we are likely to get to the word as it was in the beginning.

J. RANDOLPH FISHER, Savannah State College:

To Professor Helen Darbishire I give thanks for demonstrating the extent to which painstaking study of Milton manuscripts remains rewarding.

DOUGLAS BUSH, Harvard University:

Miss Darbishire's long devotion to Milton has lately raised another solid monument, and the first volume of her new edition is another compulsive reminder of the importance of minutiae for the study of a poet who was so unusually and systematically attentive to the mechanics of his text.

R. FLORENCE BRINKLEY, Duke University:

All students of Milton are deeply indebted to Miss Darbishire for making readily available *The Early Lives of Milton*. She has also made a particular contribution in that she ably fulfills her own desire "to throw into relief some features of his [Milton's] character which the early biographers saw clearly at close range, and which have grown dim, or obscure to posterity." Through her study she has helped others to become better acquainted with Milton as he was known to his friends.

J. B. LEISHMAN, Oxford University:

I have known and used since it first appeared Miss Darbishire's invaluable edition of *The Early Lives of Milton*, but it is to her Wordsworthian scholarship that I have been most deeply indebted: her edition of *Poems in Two Volumes*, last volume of the *Poetical Works*, containing the first detailed exhibition of the growth of *The Ruined Cottage*, and her illuminating and unsurpassed discussion of the relationship between *The Prelude*, *The Excursion*, and *The Recluse*, both in her Introduction to that volume and in her Clark Lectures. Others have written more excitingly and speculatively about Wordsworth, but of all Miss Darbishire's best work it may be said, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, that it will "stand."

ALLAN H. GILBERT, Duke University:

We are all grateful to Donald Clark for the patient learning and clear exposition of his studies in Milton's schooling.

EDWARD S. LE COMTE, Columbia University:

The value of Professor Clark's studies in the education of a poet may be measured by the direct bearing Milton's education had on his work: a relationship that, as everyone knows, was uniquely deep and far-reaching.

FRENCH FOGLE, Henry E. Huntington Library:

In *John Milton at St. Paul's School*, Donald Clark has contributed a work which will remain indispensable to the fullest understanding of Milton, the man and the poet. He has opened wide windows on those highly important pre-Cambridge years.

DOUGLAS BUSH, Harvard University:

While most of us have recognized the importance of rhetoric for the study of Renaissance writers, few of us have got far into the thorny subject, and Professor Clark has been one of the pioneer explorers; his books have brought us solid information and enlightenment, and there is promise of more.

J. RANDOLPH FISHER, Savannah State College:

For his revealing research into Milton's school life, I am grateful for this opportunity to give Professor Donald L. Clark sincere thanks.

WILLIAM HALLER, Folger Shakespeare Library:

For many years now I have been learning from Donald Clark how logic, so much as may be useful, could open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric, taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus, and many another crusty pedagogue I never supposed could be brought to life again with such wit and imagination. But I have also learned from him that to rhetoric not only poetry but many other things such as friendship could be made both precedent and subsequent.

MARK VAN DOREN, Columbia University:

Donald Clark understands the art of rhetoric better than any other man today. He understands it so well that its pedantries amuse him even while he takes their measure; but in its realities he finds his greatest delight. He knows what it is humanly for; knows how to teach, to preach, to practice it; and keeps as his intimate friends those many men from Aristotle to Milton who likewise penetrated its deepest, its simplest secrets. The art of rhetoric is for Donald Clark a sensible and solid structure, built to last as long as men communicate. He is listening even now to us who praise him. Let us therefore be as sincere as he at all times is; as generous; and, finally, as brief.

**"TRUE ELOQUENCE I FIND TO BE NONE, BUT THE
SERIOUS AND HEARTY LOVE OF TRUTH"**

PASSAGES FROM THE WORKS OF DONALD LEMEN.
CLARK

DONALD C. DORIAN, Rutgers University:

...as far as he goes, Milton represents the best in English renaissance criticism. He knew at first hand the best classical treatises on poetic and on rhetoric; and he recognized the distinctions which the ancients had made between them.

—*Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, 1922

MERRITT Y. HUGHES, University of Wisconsin:

Milton... was well aware that he had classical precedent... when he addressed his countrymen through the written word. No less was he an orator statesman practicing rhetoric for the glory of truth and the honor of England when he wrote his Latin defenses against the foreign enemies of the Commonwealth. It was the orator statesman in Milton who aspired to write a poem "doctrinal to a Nation."

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

SARA RUTH WATSON, Fenn College:

This humanistic education which he received at St. Paul's School had a profound influence on the mature Milton and contributed to making him what he became—a great man of the Renaissance. It was at St. Paul's School that he gained that command of Latin which he put to such noble use in the service of his country... Here it was that he first learned to practice the rhetoric which, when he became a man, enabled him to control his thoughts for effective communication to the world.

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

ERNEST BRENNCKE, Columbia University:

"Each year, as thou mark'st the months passing one by one, as thou countest the dying seasons of an ageing world, may January return to bless thee with ever happier fortune!... Come then, I beseech thee, lay aside awhile the cares of learning, that thou mayest celebrate with joy the coming of a New Year... Yes, dispensing on this occasion with everyday beer, I shall rejoice with thee in wine." (Alexander Gil to Thomas Farnaby.)

—Quoted in *John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

RUTH MOHL, BROOKLYN College:

Milton was not a Pioneer of Modern Education. He was a sound adherent of the humanistic tradition which, as he recognized in the *Tractate*, is solidly rooted in the schools of Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle.

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

HANFORD HENDERSON, University of Maryland

[Erasmus and Colet] would have likewise approved of his views of religion as well as morality in education as he states them: "The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines of our first Parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him."

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

GEORGE F. SENSABAUGH, Stanford University:

Milton's teachers, and hence Milton himself when he became a man, did not suffer from divided aims and morbid doubts about the purpose of education, however much they might differ about the best means of attaining their aims.

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

RALPH E. HONE, Gordon College:

As near as I can guess by reading, Milton's school would be more like that of Isocrates than like the others, for only Isocrates oriented his school toward preparing his pupils "to speak in Parliament or Counsel," by making all liberal knowledge function through rhetoric, or more accurately, through that "philosophy of the logos," which included all the arts of communication in language: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Based as it was on similar assumptions, Milton's own school of St. Paul's was well calculated to breed up her favored son as the renowned Orator, Historian, and Poet that he became.

—*John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 1948

WILL T. HALE, University of Indiana ("I am glad that I can claim the honor of having taken my M. A. at Columbia in the same year with Dr. Clark—1912"):

Unfortunately, for English criticism, Milton wrote very little on the theory of poetry. His casual remarks, however, show such enlightened scholarship and keen insight that what little he did write makes up in importance what it lacks in bulk.

—*Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, 1922

J. MILTON FRENCH, Rutgers University:

We can be assured that Milton and Milton's schoolmasters thought much more highly than we do today of the exercise of memorizing fine prose and poetry as a preparation for the pupil's own writing.

E. M. W. and P. B. TILLYARD, Jesus College, Cambridge:

Like the warring states of ancient Greece they [Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic] were always aware of belonging to the same family... They are all arts of thinking, speaking, reading, and writing. From the day Milton first learned his letters as a child until he received the degree of Master of Arts... he devoted his time and effort almost exclusively to their mastery.

"NON ANGLUS, VERUM HERCLE ANGELUS IPSE FORES"

PASSAGES FROM THE WORKS OF HELEN DARBISHIRE

RUTH MOHL, Brooklyn College, and J. MILTON FRENCH, Rutgers University (Quite independently, each chose the same passage):

The value of Milton's theological scheme is that it sets "innocent frail man," as Milton calls him, with a beautiful and characteristic touch of compassion, within the vast circle of its ideas, making us feel at once his littleness and his greatness, his frailty and his supreme responsibility. Man is nothing in himself, everything in his spiritual destiny, or, as Milton simply sees it, in his relation with God. It is the measure of Milton's greatness as a poet, that his art is equal to his theme.

—*Milton's Paradise Lost*, Bryce Lecture, 1951

RALPH E. HONE, Gordon College:

The early Lives of Milton ought to be better known. To publish them is to restore the character and person of Milton in his habit as he lived. Later biographers have quarried the historical records of his time to build a formidable monument, from which in the end the living man has escaped.

—*The Early Lives of Milton*, 1932

WILL T. HALE, University of Indiana:

I have made no attempt to draw a full portrait of Milton. I have simply desired to throw into relief some features of his character which the early biographers saw clearly at close range, and which have grown dim or obscure to posterity.

—*The Early Lives of Milton*, 1932

GEORGE F. SENSABAUGH, Stanford University:

As the *Areopagitica* is a plea for free thought rather than a protest against Press Censorship, so *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* is not a tirade against the marriage laws but an eloquent plea for true marriage: communion of mind and spirit based on joyful companionship. — that, Milton would have us know, is the only marriage worth having.

HANFORD HENDERSON, University of Maryland

He had a genius for friendship. And he had another gift and passion, reflected vividly in these first records, the gift and passion for teaching. It was not merely that he had theories about education and liked to try experiments. He loved teaching for itself, and enjoyed the relationship of teacher and pupil. His pupils were his friends.

E. M. W. and P. B. TILLYARD, Jesus College, Cambridge:

Milton's ardent spirit was austere... But in his private life his friends and relatives knew a different man—a man of culture and breeding, generous, companionable, witty, peaceable, loving music and good talk, loving quiet and all the delights of intercourse with affectionate, intelligent companions.

DONALD LEMEN CLARK

DONALD LEMEN CLARK: born 30 June 1888, South Bend, Indiana, son of Ezra Edward Clark. Educated at South Bend High School, DePauw and Columbia (Scholar; Phi Beta Kappa). Married Ann Lysle Carter (died, 1936); Mary Read. Taught at DePauw, 1910-1; Choir School of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 1911-2; West Side YMCA, 1912-3; Hebrew Technical Institute, 1913-8; Columbia University, 1918-21—Professor of Rhetoric, 1948. Guggenheim Fellow, 1944; Visiting Scholar, Huntington Library, 1944-5, Folger Library, 1949-50.

PUBLICATIONS

A Course in Magazine Article and Newspaper Writing, 1920.

Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance, 1922.

A Course in Magazine Article Writing, 1926.

Thinking, Speaking, and Writing. A three-book series of English texts for junior high schools (in collaboration with Jamieson, Holman, Knickerbocker, and Veit), 1927. Revised edition 1932. Revised and enlarged, 1935.

Sentence Building. A textbook in English for college classes (in collaboration with M. M. Hoover), 1927. Revised and enlarged, 1937.

Magazine Article Writing (in collaboration with E. Brennecke), 1932.

Your English Problems. A two-book English series for senior high schools (in collaboration with Easterbrook and Knickerbocker), 1935.

Modern English Readings. An anthology for college classes (in collaboration with R. S. Loomis), 1934. Revised and enlarged 1936, 1939, 1942, 1946.

Copy, 1925, and *Copy*, 1928, edited. Anthologies selected from the published works of Columbia University students in professional writing courses, 1925, 1928.

Columbia Poetry, edited. Anthology of student verse, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940.

The Familiar Letters of John Milton and the Prolusions, Volume XII of the Columbia University Milton. edited. Columbia University Press, 1936. Member of the editorial board for the entire edition.

Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice, by Charles Sears Baldwin, edited with an introduction from an incomplete manuscript left at Baldwin's death. Columbia University Press, 1939.

John Milton at St. Paul's School. Columbia University Press, 1948.

ARTICLES

"The Requirements of a Poet: A Note on the Sources of Ben Jonson's *Timber*," *PQ* (1918) 77-93.

"The Iconography of the Seven Liberal Arts," *Stained Glass* (Spring, 1933), 3-17.

"Milton's Schoolmasters: Alexander Gil and his Son Alexander," *HLQ* 9 (1946) 121-147.

"The Place of Rhetoric in a Liberal Education," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 36 (Oct., 1950).

"Imitation: Theory and Practice in Roman Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 37 (Feb., 1951).

"Ancient Rhetoric and English Renaissance Literature," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 2 (July, 1951).

"The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Grammar Schools," *Speech Monographs* 19 (Nov., 1952).

Articles and reviews in *MS, A Magazine for Writers*; *The Writers Journal*; *The Nation*; *English Journal*; *American Speech*; *Spokesman*; *Columbia Alumni News*; *American Journal of Nursing*; *The Critical Crown*; *The Review of Religion*.

The Milton Society is grateful to Donald L. Clark for allowing them to publish here his latest article on Milton's rhetoric. It is an expansion and revision of the paper delivered in December, 1952, to the Modern Language Association.

"John Milton and 'the fitted stile or lofty, mean, or lowly'"

By Donald Lemen Clark

When, in *Of Education*, Milton advised that late in the sequence of studies in his ideal academy their master would read with the boys "those organic arts which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean, or lowly," he was advocating the teaching of a theory of style honored from the time of Cicero. According to this theory, style should be clear, embellished, and appropriate to speaker, audience, and occasion. Thus it is appropriate in some circumstances that the style be lofty, elevated, grand. In other circumstances it is appropriate that the style be mean in the sense of the golden mean, not too much, not too little. In still other circumstances, that the style be lowly, plain, unpretentious. For teaching this theory of style he advocates "a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Phalereus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*." (Columbia Milton, IV, 286) My purpose is to examine Milton's theory of style in the light of the ancient critical theory as presented by the authors he names, and to suggest that his theory of style guided his own practice. I shall endeavor to point out briefly what Milton could have learned from each one of these ancients of the doctrine of appropriateness and the three characters of style.

From *Plato*, *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, what he did learn early and well was the doctrine of the noble rhetoric which makes the teaching of truth and virtue its object. In *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* he contrasts this philosophical view with the legalistic "error in *Calicles* the Rhetorician, whom *Socrates* from high principles confutes in *Plato's Gorgias*." (III, 500) That the love of truth is the ultimate source of an apt style he asserts in *An Apology*. "For me, Readers, although I cannot say that I am utterly untrain'd in those rules which best Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue, yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: And that whose mind so ever is fully possest with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can expresse) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well order'd files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places." (III, 362) A glance at the Trinity College MS indicates, however, that his own words fell aptly into place only after painstaking revision, guided, perhaps, by the best rhetoricians and the examples of the prime authors.

From the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle Milton could have learned that style should be perspicuous and appropriate. The Aristotelian doctrine of propriety, which Milton would have had no difficulty in recognizing as derived from the *Phaedrus*, was accepted with but slight modification by subsequent writers. This doctrine asserted that language, like the thoughts which it clothes, should be appropriate to the subject, to the speaker, and to the audience.

"Correspondence to the subject," Aristotle states, in Rhys Roberts' translation, "means that we must neither speak casually about weighty matters, nor solemnly about trivial ones To express emotion, you will employ the language of anger in speaking of outrage . . . the language of exultation for a tale of glory. This aptness of language is one thing that makes people believe in the truth of your story."

Of appropriateness to the speaker he says, "Furthermore, this way of proving your story by displaying its genuineness expresses

your personal character. Each class of men, each type of disposition will have its own appropriate way of letting the truth appear." (III, 7)

Appropriateness to the character of the audience Aristotle considers under the heads of the three kinds of rhetoric. The style of written prose (epideictic) should be more literary and more finished than the style of spoken oratory. Deliberative speeches addressed to large audiences use a style like scene painting, with broad strokes, unconnected words, much repetition of word and phrase. "The forensic style of the law courts is more highly finished, still more so is the style of language addressed to a single judge, with whom there is very little room for rhetorical artifices." (III, 12)

Cicero, another of Milton's authorities on the fitted style, points out in the *Orator* that there is also a style appropriate to each of the literary forms as well as to oratory. Whereas the orator uses a vigorous and biting style, the philosopher uses a style more expository, conversational, gentle, and academic. Whereas the orator uses a style adapted to rousing and persuading an audience, the epideictic speaker or writer aims in his style to soothe and delight with a freer use of figures and of rhythm. From Cicero, not from Plato or Aristotle, Milton would have received encouragement for his faith that style should be elegant, graceful, and ornate. Cicero also points out that the style of the orator is rhythmical whereas that of the poet is metrical. (ix, 62-66)

This doctrine of appropriateness to speaker, subject, and audience, applied to poetry and drama under the name 'decorum' is of course familiar. It functions largely in theories of style throughout the Renaissance. In *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, Miss Tuve has shown how pervasive an influence the criterion of decorum was. In his character sketch, *The Christian*, written after his retirement near Norwich, Joseph Hall, Milton's elder contemporary and controversial opponent, uses the same word 'fitted' to describe the devout decorum of the Christian's rhetoric: "His speeches are no other than seasonable and well fitted both to the person and the occasion. Jiggs at a funeral, lamentations at a feast, holy counsel to scorners, discouragements to the dejected, and applauses to the profane are hateful to him." (Kinloch. *Life of Hall*, 126.) Alas that the persons and occasions of controversy seemed to require a style fitted to ill temper and acrimony!

So now let us examine briefly Milton's own theory of the fitted style, as appropriate to subject, audience, and speaker, so far as the theory may be reflected in specific statements here and there in his writings. We may begin with his assumption that for the subject of epic, singing the tragic tale of man's disobedience, an appropriate style could be attained only with divine assistance: He can succeed only

If answerable style I can obtaine
Of my Celestial Patroness (P. L. IX, 20)

As one style is appropriate for "this Subject for Heroic Song," a different style is appropriate for the hateful subject matter of scholastic logic. He dislikes both the subject and style of scholastic philosophers, in his *Third Prolusion*, but states "The style itself is dry and lifeless, so exactly suited to the barrenness of the subject" (XII, 162). And in his letter to Henry de Brass (Epist. 23), in praise of Sallust as an historian, he speaks of the historian's duty to comprehend affairs and "to relate them distinctly and gravely in pure and chaste speech. That he should do so in an ornate style, I do not much care about, for I want a Historian, not an Orator" (XII, 93). In this view of the style appropriate to history Milton parts company with one of his classical authorities, Cicero, who states in the *Orator* (ix, 65) that the language appropriate to historical writing resembles that of epideictic in that it is smooth, flowing and embellished in contrast with the vehement and brilliant style of the orator.

On several occasions Milton mentions that style should be appropriate to the audience. In *Animadversions* he says of the Remonstrant, "It shew'd but green practise in the lawes of discreet *Rhetorique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with such a presumptuous and over-weening *Proem*" (III, 111). Contrariwise, in *Second Defense*, he justifies the lack of gravity of his own style because it is appropriate to his worthless and un-

dignified adversaries: "If any one should think our refutation deficient in gravity, he should consider that we have not to do with a grave adversary, but with a herd of players; to which, while it was necessary to accommodate the nature of the refutation, we thought it proper to have in view not always what would be most suitable to decorum, but what would most suit them (*illis dignum esset*)" (VIII, 45). To be sure, rhetoric teaches that arguments as well as style should be adapted to an audience, so perhaps in the following quotation from *An Apology* both are implied: "It will be harder to gainsay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diversely temper'd different ways are to be try'd" (III, 312).

That style is or should be appropriate to the speaker Milton urges a number of times. Thus in the prefatory epistle to his translations from Martin Bucer he remarks that his authorship of the anonymous *Doctrine and Discipline* had been recognised by the style: "The stile, which what it ailes to be so soon distinguishable, I cannot tell, was known by most men" (IV, 12). In *An Apology* he recognizes the authorship of *A Modest Confutation* by the style: "The child doth not more expressly refigure the visage of his Father, then that book resembles the stile of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seemes to delight" (III, 320). In *Tenure* he recognizes that the defenders of the King are "men of reverence and learning, as thir stile imports them" (V, 55), although he deplores their lack of reason and sense of Christian justice. In his *Introduction* to his publication of *Cabinet-Council* he uses the criterion of stylistic appropriateness to attribute the authorship to Raleigh, remarking on the work, "it being both answerable in Stile to other Works of his already Extant, so far as the subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a Learned man at his Death" (XVIII, 273). That the literary style of Christ as recorded in the Gospels is appropriate to His Person, Milton asserts in *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*: "For Christ gives no full comments of continued discourses, but as *Demetrius* the Rhetoritian phrases it, speaks oft in Monosyllables, like a maister" (III, 490-491). Here Milton is echoing the following statement by *Demetrius* in his treatise of style: "Command is always concise and brief, every master being monosyllabic towards his slave" (*De elocutione*, 7). This *Demetrius* the Rhetoritian is none other than the *Phalereus* whom Milton cites as an authority on style. His treatise on style was edited with a latin translation by *Victorius* in 1552 as *De elocutione*, by *Demetrius Phalereus*. More of him anon.

So far, in pointing out that style should be perspicuous, and appropriate to subject, audience and speaker Milton is following the doctrines of his first two authorities: Plato and Aristotle. When he analyses the fitted style into three kinds, characters or genera, "of lofty, mean, or lowly," however, he bases his theory of style on the last four of his authorities for "a graceful and ornate Rhetorick," Cicero, *Demetrius*, *Hermogenes*, and *Longinus*. Amongst surviving treatises this classification first appears in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, about 81 B.C., and gained great authority from Cicero's *De Oratore*. It is a pedagogical oversimplification, pedagogical because it is the sort of oversimplification that a schoolmaster trying to explain literary excellence to boys would find useful and almost unavoidable. We should recall that Milton was proposing to teach it to boys in his ideal academy. At any rate it took hold and permeates medieval theories of style. For instance Roger Bacon, about 1267, in his *Opus Tertium* (I, 4) echoes Cicero in *De Oratore* (II, 128) in assigning the plain or lowly style (*humilis*) for instruction, the middle or mean style (*mediocris*) for pleasing, and the grand style (*grandis*) for moving to action. Thus the characters of style were fitted to Cicero's three-fold aim of oratory: to please (*delectare*), to instruct (*docere*), to move to action, or persuade, (*movere*). (Atkins, *Med. Phase*, p. 33) Geoffrey of Vinsauf adapts this oratorical classification to poetry and states that the three styles should be used according to the persons and subjects treated and makes particular application to the literary genres. Virgil used the lowly style (*humilis*) in the *Bucolics*; the middle or mean style (*mediocris*) in the *Georgics*; the lofty style (*grandiloquo*) in the *Aeneid*. (Faral, 86-88) John of Garland, among others, relates the three styles to the classes of society and asserts that in composing letters and documents one should address kings and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the lofty style, the farmers in the plain style, city people in the middle style. Chaucer's Host of the Tabard Inn is clearly familiar with this convention when, in the prolog, he tells the Clerk of Oxenford to keep his rhetorical colours and figures in store "til so be ye endite Heigh style, as when ye to kynges write." On the Canterbury road he urges the Clerk to speak plain so the audience may understand.

But however wooden and oversimplified the three characters of style are, the classification did support the doctrine of stylistic appropriateness in Renaissance critical thinking until the Ramian rhetoric of Omer Talon (Talaues) for a time dislodged it. According to the Ramian tradition the discovery and arrangement of arguments, the first two parts of classical rhetoric, were restricted to *dialectica*, or logic. Rhetoric, as taught by Talaues, had two parts: style (*elocutio*) and delivery (*pronuntiatio*). Style was divided into two parts: tropes (as metaphor) and figures. Figures, in turn, were divided into figures of thought (as irony) and figures of language (as antithesis). Examples were freely drawn from classical authors. There was no provision in this scheme for the doctrine of appropriateness or for the three characters of style. Talaues was teaching only a graceful and ornate rhetoric, an undifferentiated art of embellishing language to adorn the arguments supplied by logic. The *Rhetorica* of Talaues, or that of his English adapter, Charles Butler, was the standard text in English grammar schools. This theory of "style as an end in itself, the ornament, not the inevitable expression of thought," as Myrick phrases it in *Sidney as a Literary Craftsman* (p. 152), dominated England from 1574 and was finally dislodged only after the Restoration. Its rise and fall are traced by W. S. Howell in an article, *Ramus and English Rhetoric* (QJS, 1951, xxxvii, 299). The parallel development of grammar school logic in the elementary exercises of Aphthonius I have traced in *The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in the English Grammar Schools of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Sneeck Monographs, Nov. 1952). As I have pointed out in *John Milton at St Paul's School*, Milton the schoolboy had been exposed to the influence of these school texts, but he clearly outgrew their influence in his maturity.

Thus Milton's adherence to the "fitted stile of lofty, mean or lowly" in 1644 constitutes or contributes to a sort of Renaissance of the classical theory of style, what W. P. Sandford called an example of the reversion of English rhetoric to classicism which gained impetus in the seventeenth century (QJS, xv, 503). But what is most interesting and most Miltonic about Milton's Renaissance is that it was a reversion to Greek rhetoric, Cicero alone of Roman writers on rhetoric being cited as an authority. Let us look into the Greek rhetoricians who wrote on the characters of style.

I have already quoted Milton's reference to "Demetrius the Rhetorician," whom, like his contemporaries, Milton thought to be the Demetrius Phalerens who was an Attic orator of the fourth century B. C. Hence Milton names him third in order in his chronological list of authorities on rhetoric. In his introduction to Demetrius *On Style* in the Loeb Library Rhys Roberts sums up the evidence that Demetrius was a teacher of grammar and rhetoric of the first century, quite possibly the Demetrius who was teaching for some time in Roman Britain. In an article, "Milton and Demetrius *De elocutione*" (*Classical Review*, xv, 1901, 453) Rhys Roberts points out another indebtedness to Demetrius. In *An Apology* Milton lashes out at the young Divines for "unboning their Clergie limmes" as play actors and concludes with an artful series of antitheses. "There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars. I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made sport, and I laught, they mispronounc't and I mislik't, and to make up the *atticisme*, they were out, and I hist" (III, 300). This is an imitation of a passage from Demosthenes (*De corona*, 265) which Demetrius (250) quotes and comments on as probably too artificial a stylistic device to be really successful as persuasion. In Milton's hands the device was successful enough in satire. Demetrius so admired Demosthenes that he added a fourth character of style, the forcible, for Demosthenes alone. Cicero had been content to honor Demosthenes as excelling in all three styles.

Milton's next Greek rhetorician whom he named as an authority for the fitted style is Hermogenes of Tarsus who was a famous teacher of rhetoric in the second century. He is best known for his elementary exercises in rhetoric, the *Progymnasmata*, which was translated into Latin by Priscian and circulated widely in the middle ages along with Priscian's own treatise on grammar. Hermogenes also wrote books on status, on rhetorical invention, and on the laws of style. The rhetorical works attributed to Hermogenes are now accessible in the Teubner series edited by Hugo Rabe, 1913. There is no translation in any modern language. But Milton would have had a number of editions of the Greek text which he could have seen, four of them with Latin translations by Bonfine (1538), Natale Conti (1550), Johan Sturm (1570), and Gaspar Laurentius (1614). Bacon had coupled the names of Sturm and Hermogenes in his attack on over solicitude for elegance of style. Hermogenes' treatise on types of style, *Peri Ideon*,

is translated in Sturm's Latin as *De dicendi generibus sive Formis orationum*. As the title indicates, both in Greek and Latin, Hermogenes' ideas have the usual meaning of Platonic archetypal patterns. The treatise teaches the stylistic virtues of purity, perspicuity, magnitude, gravity, splendor, vehemence and beauty.

Milton shows his familiarity with Hermogenes when in *An Apology* he condemns the clerks of the University for their barbarous Latin: "How few among them that know to write, or speak in a pure stile, much lesse to distinguish the ideas, and various kinds of stile" (III, 347). In another passage in the same work he uses the same word, *ideas*, to describe an apt or appropriate style: "If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation, or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest *ideas* of speech to be allow'd. it were my work, and that an easie one to make it cleare both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famous examples of the Greek and Roman Orations" (III, 312). It should be noted that Milton's naming of Demetrius and Hermogenes in *Of Education* (1644), his allusions to them and echoes of them in *An Apology* (1642), and the quotation from Demetrius in *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643, 1644) all occur while he was busily plying his trade of schoolmaster. However early he first read them, we may be sure that he was reading them with his pupils from 1642 to 1644.

This same might be safely conjectured for Longinus, Milton's final authority for the fitted style. The *Peri Hypsous*, attributed to a Longinus never satisfactorily identified, is a treatise on the lofty or elevated style. It is not a treatise on all forms of literary excellence, nor is *On the Sublime* an accurate rendering in modern English. First published by Robertello in Basel (1554) it received an edition by Franciscus Portus (1569) with the Latin title, *Liber de grandi, sine sublimi genere orationis*. Cooner *Thesaurus* (London, 1573) recognises *sublimis* as a character of style when he translates *carmina sublimia* as "verses of a high style." In the seventeenth century the title was rendered *Of Height of Eloquence* by Hall in 1652 and *Of Loftiness or Elegance of Speech* by Pul-tenev in 1680 in their translations into English. Hence Milton had a tradition of writing of the lofty, not the sublime, style. When he speaks of the "sublime Art" of poetry (III, 286), he is not speaking of style. The *Peri Hypsous* discusses those characteristics, native and acquired, which enable a writer to attain the elevated style. He quotes from poetry and prose examples to serve as models, and points out the effect of the lofty style on the reader and hearer.

Milton mentions Longinus only the once in *Of Education*. Possible allusions and influences I shall discuss later. In *English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance*, Atkins remarks, of Milton's group of authorities for rhetoric, "And not without its significance is the fact that here for the first time mention is made of the work of 'Longinus'" (p. 337). To the best of my knowledge this statement is true of works in English. *Peri Hypsous* does, however, receive adequate and perceptive treatment in Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus*, first printed in London in 1625. Farnaby's references to Longinus are the earliest I have found in a textbook, written in Latin, for use in English grammar schools. It is quite possible that Milton was influenced by it. Milton's acquaintance with Farnaby's *Index* gains probability from several bits of evidence. He made a textual correction in Farnaby's *Systema Grammaticum*, 1641. On page 102 Farnaby's printer had used an italic n instead of a Greek eta. (XVIII, 346, 573) The copy was probably his own and the correction probably made while Milton was teaching in his own school. While Milton was still in St Paul's School, his school master, Alexander Gil, in his *Logonomia Anglica*, 1619, was quoting verse definitions of the figures of speech from Farnaby, whom he refers to as his very dear friend. In the *Ad Lectores* prefixed to the *Index* Farnaby states that these verses had been issued fifteen years earlier. This earlier issue does not survive, but Milton could not have avoided knowing it as a school boy. Farnaby had had Milton's friend, Edward King, as a pupil in his school in London and contributed a Latin elegy mourning King's death to the same memorial volume to which Milton contributed *Lycidas*. Milton's friend, young Alexander Gil, once taught at Farnaby's school and in January 1624 sent Farnaby a gift of wine with Latin verses.

I do not question Milton's first hand familiarity with the texts of the ancient rhetoricians who wrote on the characters of style. As I have pointed out, the Greeks were all readily available in sixteenth century editions of the text with Latin translations on facing pages. But Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus* is still a sound bibliographical guide to ancient rhetorical doctrine. Thus on the

generous margins of pages 29 and 30, devoted to the "*dicendi genere, characteras, ideas*," he cites his authorities for what he says of the three types of style, giving author, work, book and chapter. These citations include the passages which I have quoted from Aristotle, Demetrius Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes' *Peri Ideon* (with Sturm's scholiae) and Longinus. He also cites twelve other rhetoricians from Quintilian to Alstedius whom Milton did not mention. I conjecture that Milton was first guided to his Greek authorities for the theory of style by Farnaby not long after 1625, the year he entered Cambridge, and that when he was teaching school from 1641 to 1644 he read them carefully.

Let us examine the doctrine for each type of style as developed by the authorities and exemplified by Milton's theory and practice.

The lowly style was called by Cicero *subtilis, tenuis*. Cooper, *Thesaurus*, 1573, translates Cicero's *subtiliter dissere* as "to reason subtilly" and *subtilitas* as "subtilly, finely." So when Milton writes that poetry is less "subtle and fine" than rhetoric (III, 286), he is following Cicero in finding more "sharpness of wit or reason" in rhetoric. In the *Orator* (68-69) Cicero says that this subtle or plain style is appropriate to the statement of facts and the presentation of logical arguments. Cicero also calls this style *humilis*, which Cooper, quoting Cicero, translates as "lowly." Demetrius called this lowly style *isknos*, plain, and recommended it highly for letters. "There should be a certain degree of freedom in the sentence structure of a letter. It is absurd to build up periods, as if you were writing not a letter but a speech for the law courts. . . . A letter is the exposition of a simple subject in simple terms." (*On Style*, 223-35). The vice, he says, of the plain style is aridity, resulting from understatement and abruptness. In Farnaby's summary statement of ancient doctrine: "The lowly (*humilis*) style is elegant, concise, modest, flowing gently, simple in neatness, but not uncultivated nor nerveless, nor arid."

In *Of Reformation*, 1641, Milton praises the plain style of the Scriptures and deprecates the inappropriately ornate style of the Fathers: "He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected stile of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pamper'd metaphors; the intricate, and involv'd sentences of the Fathers; besides the fantastick, and declamatory flashes: the crosseingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a settl'd devotion worse then the din of bells, and rattles." (III, 34).

In *Paradise Regained*, after the Son of God has pointed out to Satan that the Hebrew Prophets, as divinely taught, are superior to Greek orators as teachers of statescraft, he adds that their plain style was more appropriate to teaching:
better teaching

The solid rules of Civil Government
In thir majestic unaffected stile
Then all the Oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a Nation happy, and keeps it so.
(P. R. IV, 357-362)

In *An Apology*, 1642, written while he was deeply engaged with Greek rhetoric, Milton echoes Demetrius when he censures the Remonstrant for his inflated epistolary style, not following the "familiar way of writing as an Epistle ought to be," but "leaving the track of common adresses to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphoricall compellations" (III, 291).

Milton's own style in letter writing, once he got into his stride, would have pleased Demetrius as exemplifying the simplicity, conversational ease, and urbanity of the plain or lowly style at its best, tastefully adapted to the subject and to Milton's relationship to the recipient. But in his earliest epistles, written while he was still a boyish undergraduate, he flew his kite higher. Thus in the First Epistle, written to Thomas Young from London, he strains his hyperboles of fullsome flattery and regrets the impossibility of his attaining to a "*Asiatica verborum exubernatia*," worthy of his former tutor, even if he should exhaust all the fountains of style. But if this letter pleases less than he hopes, he will write another even more elaborate when he returns to Cambridge (XII, 4-6).

In the great poems of his maturity Milton habitually uses the subtle or plain style as Cicero would have approved for factual statement and for presentation of logical arguments. Thus in

Book Three of *Paradise Lost* it is appropriate that Father and Son should discuss the theological implications of free will, predestination, divine justice, and the vicarious atonement in plain and lowly style, unadorned with metaphor or simile, pointed only now and then by antithesis and alliteration, "Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall." It is more appropriate that they should speak in a style "sober, plain, and unaffected," than that they should speak in a style embellished with ornate and figurative language or heightened with passionate oratory. The same is true of the theological and moral argument and rebuttal between Satan and the Son of God in *Paradise Regained*. Satan knew he was addressing a superior intellectual and moral being. Hence his style is often plain and well adapted to the subtlety of his arguments "addressed to a single judge, with whom there is very little room for rhetorical artifices," as Aristotle advised (*Rhet.* III, 12). When Satan was tempting Eve, he used all the artifices of rhetoric to deceive the mind and seduce the emotions of one, beautiful, inexperienced, and credulous woman.

I urge the virtues of the plain and lowly style and Milton's mastery of it all the more urgently because some critics have accused Milton of lassitude and failing powers whenever they miss the full diapason of the loftiest organ notes. Like Homer he doubtless sometimes nodded, but not in his appropriate use of the lowly style. In support of my case I shall now call a few witnesses. Miss Darbishire, in her lecture on *Paradise Lost* at Somerville College (10 May, 1951), quotes Pope with approval. "In the lower parts of the narrative the character of the style is simplicity and purity." And, she adds, "where the simplest things are told in simple English idiom, 'Adam was all in tears,' 'All Hell broke loose,' 'So shall the world go on.'" This lowly style is well described by Hanford as "direct, closely woven, and relatively plain," the language "of his ethical and intellectual intensity." (*Handbook*, p. 309)

The mean style is the *media* or *mediocris* of Cicero. Cooper in his *Thesaurus* defines *mediocris* as "mesurable, meane, moderate, not too big; not too little." He quotes Cicero "*In mediocri statu sermonis*," as "in a mean kind of talk." And to make sure that we recognize the mean style as the golden mean of the peripatetics he cites from Horace the "*aurea mediocritas*." The mean or intermediate style was considered to be somewhere between the grand style and the plain. As an orator statesman who considered epideictic oratory as inferior to the oratory of law court or senate, Cicero at one time spoke of the mean style rather unflatteringly. "Between these two is interjected a mean or moderate style which uses neither the intellectual acumen of the plain nor the lightning flashes of the grand. It is related to both but has the excellences of neither." (*Orator*, v, 21). In another passage, however, Cicero speaks of the mean or intermediate style as charming and useful to please, delight, and win over an audience. Demetrius says that the elegance, grace, and geniality of the mean style is derived from the use of pleasantries, surprise, figures, smooth words, climactic order with a turn, point, rhythm. (128-189). Its attending evil is affectation, a striving for effects that do not quite come off (187). It is especially appropriate for decorative passages and descriptions of "the gardens of the nymphs, marriage-lays, love stories" (132). Farnaby in his summary follows Demetrius closely when he says that the mean style "uses metaphor freely, but with modesty, with florid figurative language, and charming digressions."

Clearly it is the mean style which Milton practices most gracefully in his descriptions of that garden of the nymphs called Paradise and his celebration of that first and loveliest of love stories, the wedded love of Adam and Eve, "Imparadis'd in one anothers arms." Milton's mean style is characterized by such metaphors as "Herself a fairer Floure," and such paradox as, "the fairest of her Daughters Eve." He is not averse to a genial pun, which Demetrius would have approved as an appropriate pleasantry,

The Birds thir quire apply; aires, vernal aires,
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves (P.L. IV, 264-166)

Here, as Hanford points out, "air" as breeze is breathing the

smell; "air" as tune attunes the leaves. Even the elephant wreathing his lithe proboscis to make them mirth is to be enjoyed as a pleasantry, not deprecated as a silly lapse from sublimity.

Of the sheer craft and the lightness of the treatment in the *Second Proclusion* Tillyard writes, "When we read Milton on the music of the spheres we expect sublimity; when we do not find sublimity, we are only too apt to stop expecting anything at all. It is a little difficult to realize that Milton was ever capable of treating such a subject wittily or with urbanity."

One might suppose that the lofty style, so characteristic of Milton, would need no further attention after the many perceptive and careful studies which have been carried on by scholars and critics for these many years. But the relationship of Milton's lofty style to the rhetoric taught by the ancients from Aristotle to Longinus will merit at least some consideration. For instance, Hanford points out that archaism and compound epithets contribute to Milton's "organ tone" (*Handbook*, 295). These rhetorical devices are recommended to give elevation to style by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*. He, as well as the Spenserian tradition, might be mentioned as a possible influence on Milton. Likewise Milton's "elaborate periodicity of construction" need not be ascribed solely to Donne, the Fletchers, or Cowley. Both Aristotle (*III,9*) and Cicero (*Orator*, 186) teach the value of the period and the means of attaining it.

Indeed the lofty style is fully and admirably treated by all the ancient rhetoricians. Cicero called it weighty and elevated. Cooper in his *Thesaurus* translates Cicero's "*genus dicendi grandis*" as "an ampler kinde of style," and also from Cicero "*grandis orator*," as "an orator having a high style." Cicero also uses the word *magniloquentia* which Cooper renders "a loftie and high stile." In the *De oratore* (II, 128) Cicero states that its function is to rouse the emotions and move the audience to action. Less oratorical is Demetrius who quotes many of his examples from poets and historians — Homer and Euripides, Plato, Xenophon and Thucydides. He uses the word *megaloprepes* for this character of style which well translates as "elevated." It might also be translated as "appropriate to greatness." As everything ordinary is trivial, said Demetrius, the elevated style should depart from the ordinary. It should exhibit unexpected shifts of construction and preference for superior, distinguished, and unfamiliar diction. If Milton needed a teacher to encourage him in the use of long vowels to enhance the loftiness of the sonnet *On the late Massacher in Piemont*, he could have found him in Demetrius who says, "It is the concurrence of long vowels which is most appropriately employed in the elevated style" (72). When one strives for elevation of style and fails, the ancients believed, he attains fustian or bombast, what they called frigidity because it leaves the audience cold. I think Milton has this idea in mind when, in *An Apology*, he is attacking Hall's satires. "And turning by chance to the sixth Satyr of his Second book I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily in *heavens universall Alphabet* he fals downe to that wretched poornesse and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge street* in *heav'n*," (*III*, 328) &.

Hermogenes attributes to the lofty style amplification, gravity, vehemence, splendor of figurative language, vigor. Its magnitude gives dignity to style.

Of Farnaby it is most significant that in his treatment of the lofty style (*sublimis*) the only classical authority he cites and quotes is Longinus, the great unknown who wrote the *Peri Hypsous*, translated as *De Sublimate*, or *On the Sublime*. I believe Milton was right in calling this style 'lofty'. No nobler discussion of the lofty style has survived from antiquity. None was better calculated to appeal to Milton with its insistence that the lofty style is not something applied to a subject to give it grandeur but the expression in language of a writer's own intellectual and emotional powers. It has its origin in the faculty of grasping great conceptions and in a passionate emotional intensity. When Milton wrote that poetry was more passionate than rhetoric I am sure that he was aware of this statement. Longinus also states that amplifi-

cation is a rhetorical piling up. The elevated style, on the other hand, carries its hearer, not to persuasion, but to ecstasy. Even in his eight line summary Farnaby is able to bring forward these thoughts as well as to repeat some of the brilliant metaphors Longinus uses to describe the lofty style: the vehement lightning flashes of the rhythm, the periods which are like a mountain torrent that makes a way when it finds none. Metaphors which are equally descriptive of Milton's own use of the lofty style.

But however much we may agree with Dr. Johnson that Milton's "natural port is gigantic loftiness," and of *Paradise Lost*, "The characteristic of this poem is sublimity," we should now be ready also to agree that Milton's style was one of infinite variety. He practiced the lowly, the mean, and the lofty styles with such gradations and interminglings as seemed to him artistically appropriate to the subject, circumstances, audience, and literary form. When he composed speeches to be delivered by God, angel, devil, or man, he observed decorum and made the speeches appropriate to the imagined speaker. When he composed in his own person, as Milton was an urbane and gracious man, he sometimes used the mean style; as he was an argumentative man, he used the lowly style to prove his points; as he was also a man of lofty thought and intense passions, of course he used the lofty style, as we all know he did, and as the ancients taught him.

Cicero recommended the lofty style for moving the feelings especially in perorations. As this is my peroration, and as I lack aptitude for the lofty style, I shall quote the eloquent words of E. E. Stoll on the final lines of *Paradise Lost*: "The grand style sinks into the simple, the music dies away on the slow chords of a cadence, the mighty pinions on which the poet was lifted in his flight float him gently to earth again."

A LETTER FROM SIR HERBERT GRIERSON

The Milton Society cabled congratulations to Sir Herbert Grierson on his eighty-seventh birthday, January, 16, 1952. He replied as follows:

Dear Mr. Wolfe:

Will you have the goodness to communicate to the fifty American Milton scholars the extreme pleasure and profound sense of gratitude with which I have received their felicitations on this day. Despite your letter of the sixth, the telegram came as a complete surprise. It has given me very real pleasure if accompanied with some humbling sense of its being beyond my deserts. But from my earliest efforts I have received from American scholars a recognition of my work which surprised me at the moment but which has been an encouragement and support in all that I have attempted. Since then I have enjoyed American hospitality both at universities and private homes, and nowhere is there a comparable hospitality. I early learned to respect American scholarship and to admire the zeal and enterprise with which your scholars were taking up and carrying forward work in the fields of Chaucerian and Shakespearean scholarship. On Milton as a controversialist and poet America has a claim equal to ours, in the former field perhaps greater, because Milton was in full sympathy, as he has frankly stated, with those who, in quest of liberty and what seemed to them a purer religion, had sought a home in what was then a new and in some ways dangerous country. I was much impressed, when in America, by the feeling preserved in your Thanksgiving Day. Indeed I find it impossible to express the deep feelings with which I have received this expression of your kind appreciation coming as it does when I am, if I may use the expression, "on the shelf," my work all behind me. My only link with work in practice is that I am on the Literary Panel of the Advisers for the New Translation of the Bible preparing for Cambridge University Press. For the kindness shown me in this address I can only say again I thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

Yours ever sincerely,
(signed) H. J. C. Grierson

HELEN DARBISHIRE

HELEN DARBISHIRE: born 26 February 1881, daughter of Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire M. D. Oxon. Educated at Oxford High School and Somerville College, Oxford, (Scholar) 1900-1903. Visiting Lecturer, Royal Holloway College, 1904. Tutor in English, Somerville College, 1908-1925: Fellow and Tutor, 1925-1931. Visiting Professor, Wellesley College, Massachusetts, 1925-1926. University Lecturer, Oxford University, 1926-1931. Principal of Somerville College, 1931-1945. Clark Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1949.

PUBLICATIONS

De Quincey's *Literary Criticism*, edited with Introduction, 1909.

Wordsworth's *Poems Published in 1807* edited, 1914. Revised edition 1952.

The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost: Book I, 1931. (Collo-type facsimile from the MS; introduction; transcript of MS; notes; appendix on Milton's spelling of *their*).

The Early Lives of Milton, edited with Introduction and Notes, 1932.

Wordsworth's Poetical Works. Vols. III, IV, V, edited with E. de Selincourt, 1946-49.

Some Variants in Wordsworth's Text in the Volumes of 1836-37 in the King's Library, edited for the Roxburghe Club, 1949.

The Poet Wordsworth, The Clark Lectures, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1950.

The Poetical Works of John Milton. Vol. I: *Paradise Lost*, edited with Introduction and Textual Commentary, 1952.

"The Ruined Cottage" and "The Excursion" in *Essays mainly on the Nineteenth Century*, presented to Sir Humphrey Milford, 1948.

"An Approach to Wordsworth's Genius," in *English Studies Today: Papers read at the International Conference of University Professors of English held in Oxford, August 1950, 1951*.

Milton's Paradise Lost: The James Bryce Memorial Lecture, 1951.

"Wordsworth," in *Writers and Their Work*. The British Council and the National Book League, 1953.

ARTICLES

"Keats and Egypt," *RES* 3 (1927).

"Pen and Ink Corrections in Books of the Seventeenth Century," *RES* 7 (1931).

"The Chronology of Milton's Handwriting," *The Library*, Transactions of the London Bibliographical Society (Sept., 1933).

"A phrase of Wordsworth's," *RES* 21 (1945).

"Wordsworth's Belief in the Doctrine of Necessity," *RES* 24 (1948).

"An English Impression of an Italian Genius: Eleonora Duse," *English Miscellany*, ed. Mario Praz, Rome, 1950.

REVIEWS

Milton:

JOHN MILTON'S COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS: A Critical Text Edition. Compiled and Edited by Harris Francis Fletcher. Vol. I: 1943. *RES* 22 (1946). Vol. II: 1945. *RES* 23 (1947). Vols. III and IV: 1948. *RES* n.s. 2 (1951).

ON THE COMPOSITION OF PARADISE LOST. By Allan H. Gilbert, 1947. *Oxford Magazine*, May 5, 1949.

JOHN MILTON, ENGLISHMAN. By James Holly Hanford, 1950. *TLS*, Nov. 24, 1950.

Wordsworth:

LETTERS OF THE WORDSWORTH FAMILY. Collected and edited by William Knight, 1907. *The Journal of Education*, Aug., 1908.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH: HIS LIFE, WORKS AND INFLUENCE. By George McLean Harper, 1916. *The Journal of Education*, May, 1916.

THE MIND OF A POET: A Study of Wordsworth's Thought with particular reference to "The Prelude." By Raymond Dexter Havens, 1941. *RES* 19 (1943).

WORDSWORTH'S FORMATIVE YEARS. By George Wilbur Meyer, 1943. *RES* 21 (1945).

STRANGE SEAS OF THOUGHT: Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature. By Newton P. Stallknecht, 1945. *RES* 22 (1946).

THE ART OF WORDSWORTH. By Lascelles Abercrombie, 1952. *The Spectator*, April 18, 1952.

THE EXCURSION: A STUDY. By Judson Stanley Lyon, 1950. *RES* n.s. 3 (1952).

WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE 1792-1834. By H. M. Margoliouth, 1953. COLERIDGE. By Humphrey House, 1953 *Time and Tide*, April 25, 1953.

Keats:

ENDYMION, A POETIC ROMANCE. By John Keats. Type Facsimile of 1st edition, ed. H. Clement Notcutt, 1927. *RES* 4 (1928).

KEATS AND MARY TIGHE. Ed. Earle Vonard Weller, 1928. *RES* 5 (1929).

THE LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS. Ed. Maurice Buxton Forman. 2 vols., 1931. *RES* 8 (1932).

THE LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS. Ed. Maurice Buxton Forman. 2. vols., 2nd. ed. revised, 1935. *RES* 13 (1937).

Shelley:

THE SHELLEY NOTE-BOOK in the HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY. Reproduced with Notes. By George Edward Woodberry, 1929. *RES* 8 (1932).

